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ABSTRACT

This handbook of historical sources for use in the school includes suggestions, leads, and examples, which serve as springboards to other sources, encouraging the teacher to consider various ways in which original source materials might be used in an instructional setting. The following categories are used as one way of looking at primary sources: written sources, both official and personal; oral sources, including interviews and commercially produced historical records and tapes of spoken work, songs, and music; artifacts; visual sources, including maps, paintings, sketches, etchings, prints, cartoons, posters, photographs, and films: the landscape; names, including surnames, place names, and street names. An analysis of the nature of these categories and suggestions for their use is amplified by examples of sources in each category and illustrations of their application to the design of teaching strategies and learning activities. Appended are references to further source materials and their use. (Author/JH)

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HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR USE IN SCHOOLS

by

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PREFACE

The complex task of teaching and the subtleties of the teaching-learning process make enormous demands upon both teachers and students alike. Increasingly, teachers find that they need command of a wide range of teaching strategies and access to a vast array of different types of instructional materials and media.

Michael Rawcliffe provides us with a handbook of historical sources for use in the schools. He offers the reader suggestions, leads, and examples which serve as springboards to still other sources, thereby encouraging us to consider various ways in which these sources might be used in an instructional setting. Sometimes I was so caught up in the exciting substance of the examples (e.g. the description of "Smithfield Meat Market (1851)," or the "Table of Diet for Children" of the Workhouse of the Parish of St. James', Westminster (1797), etc.) that I almost lost sight of the fact that these are merely examples--but the way in which these illustrative source materials capture and hold our own interest is indicative of their instructional power!

The author suggests the following categories as one way of looking at and organizing the wide range of available sources:

1.0 Written Sources
    1.1 Official
    1.2 Personal
2.0 Oral Sources
    2.1 Interviews
    2.2 Comercially Produced Historical Records and Tapes
        2.2.1 The Spoken Word
        2.2.2 Songs and Music
3.0 Artifacts
4.0 Visual Sources
    4.1 Maps
    4.2 Paintings
    4.3 Sketches and Etchings and Prints
    4.4 Cartoons
    4.5 Posters
    4.6 Photographs
    4.7 Postcards
    4.8 Film
5.0 The Landscape
6.0 Names
    6.1 Surnames
    6.2 Place Names
    6.3 Street Names

This paper provides the reader with an analysis of the nature of the categories and the suggested use or uses to which historical sources can be put, as well as examples of sources in each category and illustrations of how these can be applied to the design of teaching strategies and learning activities.

Michale Rawcliffee clearly demonstrates that there is available a wide variety of historical source materials, and the reader is encouraged to search out those sources most appropriate to his or her own instructional needs.

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HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR USE IN SCHOOLS

Since 1963 when Jonathan Cape published their first Jackdaw document folder on "The Battle of Trafalgar", the provision of source material for teachers has proliferated. More than one hundred additional Jackdaws have been produced[1], other firms have entered the market whilst local record offices, teachers' groups, television channels and the Schools Council have also published historical source material. Thus teachers are now in a position to select from a considerable range and to purchase materials to supplement their teaching. Ideally teachers' criterion for selection should be simply the purchase of appropriate teaching aids to fit the framework of aims, syllabuses and methods which have already been decided within the department. However, the reality of the situation is that a school department has only limited funds at its disposal which are probably depreciating in real terms as the price of books and materials soar. The complex situation has arisen where a department has to decide whether to buy a few complete sets of new textbooks or limited batches of five or six smaller reference-type books suitable for topic work and covering a wide range. In addition it has to resolve the competing valuable claims of visual aids such as pictures, film strips, slides and the newly marketed documentary sources. Thus a new dimension and urgency is added to the existing problem of selection which any historian faces. It is therefore essential that if history departments are to harness their resources to their

1 American Jackdaws are now published by Grossman of New York. Their titles include Nat Turner's Slave Revolt and The California Gold Rush, 1849. Canadian Jackdaws are published by Clarke, Irwin and Co. of Toronto.

best academic and economic advantage, they must firstly, appraise what they are seeking to achieve in history[1] and secondly, look critically at the range of materials available and select those which are needed to fill gaps or improve upon existing resources. Therefore, this paper is concerned to give guidelines on the variety of source material available to the teacher and to discuss the benefits and problems of using it in the classroom.

The collection of original sources has long since been seen as one of the major tasks of the historian. However, the work of the German historian Leopold Von Ranke (1795-1886) in the early nineteenth century led future historians not only to the accumulation of sources, but to a critical appraisal of them and this was ultimately to affect the teaching of history in schools. His criticisms of previous historians who had failed to distinguish clearly between original sources and earlier secondary works (thus allowing errors to be compounded by time) was largely responsible for the new scientific emphasis on the critical handling of the original source and distinguishing between internal and external evidence.

By the end of the nineteenth century, history was an accepted university discipline, with a prestige soon the equal of classics. On the other hand, school history lagged behind. M. W. Keatinge[2] writing in 1910 deplored the purely factual nature of the subject in school and the lesson which all too often revolved around "the short lecture interspersed with questions, the expansion of the text book, the occasional setting of problems, the written answer of fact and the essay ..... the old relations are reversed; the teacher prepares his lessons and the pupil hears them."[3]. He became one of the early

1 J. B. Coltham and J. Fines, Educational Objectives for the Study of History: A Suggested Framework, Historical Association Teaching History series No.35 (1971) contains a taxonomy of objectives for the teaching of history.

2 M. W. Keatinge, Studies in the Teaching of History: London (1910)

3 Keatinge, op. cit., 3

advocates of the use of documents in schools, arguing that "our subject, ... must be reduced to problem form, and our pupils must be confronted with documents, and forced to exercise their minds upon them."[1] Scientific historical method, he believed, "shows the schoolmaster the way," and his book was to be a powerful advocate for and influence upon history in the early twentieth century.

Twenty years later Catherine Firth[2] argued that whilst many of the exercises on documents which had been suggested by Keatinge were too difficult for many children, he had nevertheless shown the value of evidence. She reacted strongly against "the dull acceptance of text-book generalities",[3] believing that if a child could be brought into contact with evidence, his interest could be stimulated. Today Coltham and Fines have placed this objective under the Affective Domain: Section A. Attitudes towards the study of History

1. Attending : Shows an interest in .....
Is curious about .....[4]

In addition Firth was one of the early advocates of a history which was concerned with problems and questions. All too often history is almost entirely teacher-centred. In the right environment children will want to ask the questions - Is it true? Did it happen? We should not therefore miss the opportunity of providing material to answer the related question, How do we know? Evidence can be introduced directly to solve particular questions. This may well mean that the teacher will select the evidence which the child can use, or direct him to where he can find it. Nonetheless, the child is being led to and encouraged to evaluate and question. Certain types of evidence will be seen

1 Keatinge, op. cit., 38

2 C. B. Firth, The Learning of History in Elementary Schools, London (1929)

3 Firth, op. cit., 121

4 Coltham and Fines, op. cit., 16

by the child to be more useful than others, and some will be seen to be more reliable. This type of activity is as applicable to a seven year old as to a seventeen year old and the professional historian. It is all a question of level, and ~~only~~ one of the ways in which Bruner's Spiral Curriculum can apply directly to history. This is not possible in a purely teacher-centred, text-book orientated classroom where the correct answers are provided and the child becomes all too easily the dull recipient of fact. Conversely, a classroom where the child is brought into contact with a wide variety of historical source material is surely one where questions and interest will more easily emerge.

Sources are not the panacea, but they are a tool which the teacher should introduce as frequently as possible. It would appear the category most frequently introduced is that of the written source though there are several others which have an equal claim. In fact the solution of a problem may depend on the introduction and evaluation of a wide range.

What then is the nature of evidence available? The following categories are by no means exhaustive (familiar official sources have, for instance, been ignored) but are intended to serve as relevant examples to the argument and to stimulate and guide teachers to find their own sources appropriate to their particular situation.

I. WRITTEN SOURCES

A. Official

This covers such things as the records of central and local government, the courts, legal deeds, business records, inventories and surveys. Countries in the modern world produce an enormous quantity of documentary material, some of which is immediately available, such as the reports of Parliament through Hansard, and of Congress through the Congressional Record. Other material is subject to restriction for a number of years. In Britain a 30 year restriction usually prevails for state papers and for census enumerators' returns, 100 years is the rule. This material is deposited in the Public Record Office and is available to genuine researchers. Storage is a problem common to all record offices, and the desire of the British Museum, in London, to extend into Bloomsbury in order to provide not only more storage space but reading provision has brought it into conflict with the conservationists.

Not all official documents have been written on paper or with modern writing materials. The records of earlier civilisations or more primitive societies have been recorded in a variety of ways, such as on stone, papyrus, and clay. Many of these could equally well be classified under artefacts (Section III) and they are rarely able to be used directly. Translation of early documents and those in other languages is necessary. The teacher may provide the children only with the translation, though a slide or photograph of the original is often useful. Providing the class only with a translation of a medieval text, may well deprive them of seeing beautifully written, and engraved original, which often leads to their questioning how it was written and by whom. Soon the children will be considering the time it took to produce the manuscripts, and will be introduced to one of the keys to understanding a society which was not dominated by time. In the case of the

Rosetta stone[1] a slide of the original can be used to show how Champollion was able to decipher hieroglyphics, though children will certainly be interested to know the substance of a message which came to be written in three languages.

Historians either study records in their original form or through printed academic source collections. Teachers would be most likely to meet them after the initial selection had taken place, making use of the numerous source collections available[2]. These are often excellent tools for the teacher who can select from their broad range.

The teacher therefore has an enormous responsibility and must apply three basic principles in his selection - if this is not done then history as such is not being taught. Firstly, sources must be as representative and comprehensive as possible, particularly if he wishes the children to work on them and come to decisions about them. Secondly, any group of materials selected must on no account reflect his personal bias or political viewpoint; rather he should seek to present sources on an event or a problem which enable children to come to conclusions and understanding. Thirdly, studies in source work should wherever possible reflect alternative viewpoints. For example, the opening of the west in the United States has long been studied through white American sources and has been almost exclusively concerned with the physical problems of movement and settlement from the point of view of the settler. In the last few years, the balance has begun to be rectified and the Indian viewpoint is now being expressed. Dee Brown's Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee[3] has shown how much evidence given by the Indians remains in the National

1 The Rosetta stone was carved in three languages, Hieroglyphics, demotic and Greek in 197 B.C., found by one of Napoleon's officers in 1799, captured by the British in 1801, and brought to the British Museum in the following year.

2 British examples are the English Historical Documents series published by Eyre and Spottiswoode and J. J. Bagley Historical Interpretation: Sources of English Medieval History 1066 - 1540 (1965) Pelican. A second volume was published in 1967 dealing with the period since 1540.

3 Published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., U.S.A. (1971)

Archives. Inevitably much of the written evidence of the Indian is that collected by the white, but wherever possible it should be supplemented by an appreciation of the arts and artefacts of the indigenous people. The history of Africa, south of the Sahara, follows a similar pattern in the nineteenth century. The Europeans, believing their civilisation, materially and spiritually superior to that of the African, ignored the civilisation they found. In the short term these examples of the American Indian and the African may be overstated, but in time the historian should be able to take a more balanced view as more evidence materialises.

Specific examples of local and national official written sources

a) A Survey - Surveys ordered prior to the sale of property give information in a clear form, which can be linked directly to other primary sources, such as Maps, prints, photographs, census material, directories and guides.

A Description of the Bishop's Palace, Bromley, Kent. 1842

The Palace is a square, double brick built house, slated in front and back and tiled in the middle roof, it is two stories high with attics in the roof and contains the following rooms:-

GROUND FLOOR

A large entrance hall and main staircase heated by a stove and lighted by two windows in front.

On the left side is a Chapel with three windows to front, neatly fitted up, with pulpit and reading desk.

On the right hand passage from the Hall - a dining room with Italian Marble chimney piece, fire place, three windows to front and Grecian columns next to the sideboard.

Opposite, a drawing room with Italian Marble chimney piece and handsome cornice.

A library adjoining with Italian Marble chimney piece and fireplace. Three windows looking to the grounds.

These two rooms may be made into a suite of rooms by opening the partition on either side.

Back stairs leading to the Attic Rooms.

Butler's Pantry.

Housekeeper's Room.

Kitchen and back Kitchen.

Washhouse and laundry adjoining.

Coal house.

BASEMENT STOREY

A servants' hall.

Larder.

Beer and wine cellars.

Boot and shoe room.

FIRST FLOOR - Bedrooms.

ATTIC - Servants' rooms.

OUTBUILDINGS

A stable for six horses. Harness room, lofted above.

Double coach house.

Bakehouse, brewhouse and dairy.

Carpenters shop, double coach house, henhouse, wood house.

Dovecote, poultry yard.

GARDENS

The gardens consist of about two acres and are well stocked with fruit trees, currant, gooseberry and raspberry bushes, strawberry beds, melon and cucumber beds, and vineyard.

The flower garden presents a most beautiful appearance with serpentine and gravel walks.

The above survey from which the measurements have been deleted, was made for the Bishop of Rochester in 1842. The house had been built in 1775 in Bromley, where the bishop lived. It was conveniently placed on the road to London which was some ten miles away. The building and the site of 5 acres is now occupied by Stockwell College of Education where I teach. The original building still remains, but now forms one side of a quadrangle. Local children have frequently done work on the house and Bromley's connection with the bishops. With the help of the survey they are able to (1) walk round the building noting room usage on a simple plan. Sufficient remains for the children to get the feel of what the house was like at the time, and the changes which have subsequently taken place. (2) Sketch features of the building such as the mitre and date over the porch; the Georgian windows, Adam type fireplaces and the shutters which still remain. (3) Compare the survey with a series of photographs, the earliest taken in 1870 and then contrast it with evidence collected from their field work. (4) Look at the census returns for 1851, noting especially the number of people in the house and the types of servants and where they lived and worked. (5) Research into the house which occupied the site prior to 1775 for which a survey made by the Parliamentary Commissioners during the Civil War, remains.

b) A Government Report : The Report of the Committee on Factory Children's Labour 1831-2 (XV) P.193 etc., 1832

Evidence of Samuel Coulson

5047 At what time in the morning, in the brisk time, did these girls go to the mills?

In the brisk time, for about 6 weeks, they have gone at 3 a.m., and ended at 10, or nearly half past at night.

5049 What intervals were allowed for rest or refreshment during these 19 hours of labour?

Breakfast a quarter of an hour, and dinner half an hour; and drinking a quarter of an hour.

5051 Was any of that time taken up in cleaning the machinery?
They generally had to do what they call dry down; sometimes this took the whole of the time at breakfast or drinking, and they had to get their dinner or breakfast as they could; if not, it was brought home.
5054 Had you not great difficulty in awakening your children to this excessive labour?
Yes; in the early time we had then to take them up asleep and shake them; when we got them on the floor to dress them, before we could get them off to their work; but not so in the common hours.
5056 Supposing they had been a little too late, what would have been the consequence during the long hours?
They were quartered in the longest hours, the same as in the shortest time.
5057 What do you mean by quartering?
A quarter was taken off.
5059 What was the length of time they could be in bed during the long hours?
It was near 11 p.m. before we could get them into bed after getting a little victual ..... my mistress used to stop up all night, for fear that we could not get them ready for the time .....
5060 What time did you get them up in the morning?
In general me and my mistress got up at 2 a.m. to dress them.
5061 So that they had not above 4 hours sleep at this time?
No, they had not.
5063 The Common hours of labour were from 6 a.m. till 8.30 p.m.
Yes.

Both governments and private institutions in western Europe and the U.S.A. have commissioned literally thousands of reports and enquiries. These have covered the whole gamut of Government from parliamentary reform to enquiries into working conditions in the mines and child labour. These committees usually called for both written and oral evidence and the reports are frequently

presented in a manner which, after the necessary selection, make them particularly suitable for use in schools. Not only does this extract provide information on the rigours of child labour, but it is presented in the form of a dialogue, which recent research shows to be easier to comprehend. It is also in a form which offers a script for follow up work in drama and is concerned with the life of children who today would have many more years of school ahead of them.

c) Table of Diet for Children : The Workhouse of the Parish of St. James', Westminster, January 1797[1]

TABLE OF DIET FOR CHILDREN

	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Sun.	Broth, 20 children a loaf.	Meat, 6 oz. each and vegetables, 12 children a loaf, ½ pt. beer each.	Broth, 20 children a loaf.
Mon.	Ditto	Milk porridge, 20 children a loaf.	1 oz. butter each, 12 children a loaf, ½ a pint of beer each.
Tues.	Milk porridge, 20 children a loaf.	Meat 6 oz. each, 12 children a loaf, ½ pint beer each.	Broth, 20 children a loaf.
Wed.	Broth, 20 children a loaf.	Rice milk, 20 children a loaf.	2 oz. cheese each. 12 children a loaf, ½ a pint of beer each.
Thurs.	Milk porridge, 20 children a loaf.	Meat 6 oz. each, 12 children a loaf.	Broth, 20 children a loaf.
Fri.	Broth, 20 children a loaf.	Milk porridge, 20 children a loaf.	2 oz. cheese each. 12 children a loaf, ½ a pint of beer each.
Sat.	Milk porridge, 20 children a loaf.	Meat 6 oz. each, 12 children a loaf, ½ pint beer each.*	Broth, 20 children a loaf.

1 Doc. No. 342 Poor Law Administration in the Parish of St. James', Westminster quoted in English Historical Documents, Vol. XI, 1783 - 1832. Eyre and Spottiswoode. (15)

The diet for the poor in the workhouse is the same except that they are allowed a greater quantity of meat, bread and beer.

* Since East India rice has been brought to England and sold cheap, and meat and bread is so very dear, the dinner on Saturdays both at the Workhouse and the Parish School of Industry is baked rice puddings.

Here the evidence is presented in a clear and graphic form which could be used by a very wide spread of ability. The monotony of the workhouse diet is shown and some children will be concerned with the quantity of bread and broth consumed, whilst others will be immediately impressed by the omissions. Potatoes are not mentioned; could they have been in the soup? Was a diet such as this better or worse for the poor than that outside the workhouse? By contrast how did other groups in society fare?

d) Sample Budgets : Urban semi-skilled worker, 1841, earning 15/- per week with three children:-[2]

	s.	d.		s.	d.
5 4-lb. loaves at 8½d.	3	6½	1lb. butter		9
5lb. of meat at 5d.	2	1	½lb. soap, ½lb. candles		6½
7 pints of porter at 2d.	1	2	Rent	2	6
½ cwt. coals		9½	Schooling		4
40lb. potatoes	1	4	Sundries		5½
3oz. tea, 1lb. sugar	1	6		15	0

Again the evidence is clearly presented, although the teacher may think it necessary to translate the shillings and pence into decimal currency[3].

2 Quoted in J. Burnett, A History of the Cost of Living, P.263, Pelican (1969)

3 12 old pence = 1 shilling (1/-) 20 shillings = £1
100 new pence = £1
The one pence in the extract are roughly equivalent to 1c. although this disregards changes in the value of money since that time.

Several important questions arise such as the essentials purchased, the balance of expenditure between items (note the large amount of potatoes) the small amount remaining for sundries, and the total absence of savings. One will need to ask whether this budget is typical of an urban semi-skilled worker and what others in employment earned. Through a study of material such as this older children will be more able to understand the concept of subsistence and the problems caused by death, unemployment and unwise expenditure.

If one were to concentrate exclusively on those on or below subsistence one would gain a misleading impression of any period. Fortunately, budgets and descriptions of many different social groups are available[1]. The Cornhill Magazine in 1901 carried an interesting series of articles on how to manage on a range of incomes from 30/- a week to £10,000 a year. In the latter article by Lady Agnew she suggests that "The wages of twelve or fourteen servants would average between £350 and £400, and the upkeep of a London and a country house in linen, etc. would be close upon £200. There would be £200 yearly for wine, £130 for coal, £70 for lighting, £130 for the butler's book, which includes all telegrams, postage of letters and parcels, hampers, cabs, etc., £70 indoor liveries, £150 stationery and little bills."[2]

c) Census material

The decennial census was introduced in the United States in 1790 and in Great Britain in 1801. The statistics which they produce give vital material for the population as a whole, and each successive census seems to have brought an added refinement, either to the questions asked or to the presentation of the statistics. In Britain a one hundred year rule applies and thus only recently have the enumerators' returns for 1871 become available to researchers[3].

1 The three books by E. Royston Pike Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution in Britain; of the Victorian Golden Age; of the Age of the Forsytes published by Allen and Unwin contain a very varied collection of documentary material. For an earlier period Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763 (1950) Reprint Society pp 321-323 recounts how he might live as a gentleman on an income of £200 a year.

2 Cornhill Magazine, August 1901. Quoted Magnus Pike Age of the Forsytes Allen 1969 p.175.

3 The Enumerators' returns are available in two forms a) on microfilm b) as photostats. Microfilm is easier to handle and store, but requires "a reader", which few schools have.

From 1851 the following information was required from each household:-

Name of street, place or road	Name and surname of each person	Relation to Head of family	Condition	Age of		Rank, Profession or occupation	Where born
				Male	Female		

From the enumerators' returns for Bromley we find that Coles Child, who had purchased the Bishop's Palace at Bromley in 1845, was a wharfinger by profession, a Landed Proprietor, Deputy Lieutenant and J.P. for Kent, who had been born in Highgate, Middlesex.

Perhaps the most impressive household was that of Joseph Edelman, aged 57, the owner of Bickley House, Bromley who was a merchant, born in Carinthia, Austria. He was a widower with 5 daughters, and 3 sons. The eldest had been born in London, and the remainder at Peckham, Surrey. One son was a merchant, a daughter was married to a merchant, whilst his 80 year old father in law who lived with them was formerly a merchant. In addition to a private tutor for the three children listed as "scholars at home", there were 12 servants listed as follows:-

Housekeeper	Female	Unmarried	Vaud, Switzerland	Age 59
Ladies maid	"	"	" "	" 30
Upper Laundry Maid	"	"	Beckenham, Kent.	" 28
Cook	"	"	Chislehurst, Kent.	" 27
Upper Housemaid	"	"	High Bray, Devon.	" 27
Needlewoman	"	"	Beckenham, Kent.	" 21
Dairymaid	"	"	Chipstable, Somerset.	" 22
Under Laundry Maid	"	"	Holworthy, Devon.	" 21
Under Housemaid	"	"	Leigh, Essex.	" 21
Kitchen Maid	"	"	Bromley, Kent.	" 20
Butler	Male	Married	London	" 47
Footman	"	Unmarried	Worthing, Sussex.	" 19

Further detail about domestic servants, who occupied the largest occupational group in the 1851 census, can be obtained from newspaper advertisements, handbooks[1], memoirs and biographies and diaries. The census returns shown clearly the gradation of servants in the large households from the butler and housekeeper to the under parlour maid. In recent years there have been two excellent series on television - "The Forsyte Saga", a serialisation of John Galsworthy's novel, and "Upstairs and Downstairs". Both these series have very accurately portrayed through their sets, and costume, life in the upper reaches of late Victorian and Edwardian England, and the hierarchy of servants below stairs. Similarly Margaret Powell has written several autobiographical books describing her life in service.[2] These latter sources are not primary historical sources, but are examples of contemporary material which a teacher can use to supplement his teaching. A familiarity with current film, television and literary sources is essential for a teacher to show not only his awareness of the world today, but to enable him to use contemporary material as either a reference point, or for anology. Conversely, poor historically inaccurate material can sometimes be used with older children. Analysing the bias, omission or error in a documentary is an interesting exercise, providing it is not entirely destructive. If it covers a problem or event which the class have been studying, they might well suggest their own version and selection of events, and see whether it stands up to criticism.

Returning to census material, the study of the population of a whole town would prove far too time-consuming and present difficult problems of analysis. However, selected streets and roads are a real possibility. It is best to

1 For example Mrs. I. Beeton, Beeton's Book of Household Management (1859-61) became the virtual bible of the middle classes and is a rich source of information and contains a description of the functions of the various categories of servants.

2 They are "Below Stairs" (1968), "Climbing the Stairs" (1969) and "The Treasure Upstairs" (1970) and "The London Season" (1971) pub. by P. Davies. They describe her life in service during the late 1920's and 1930's.

use those which exist today, and then one could list the households in succeeding censuses[1]. The class could s e which households had moved, whether jobs had been changed, and where the occupants were born. However, the census is only a co.lection of material giving information for a particular moment of time. It may not give the total in a family, and cannot indicate those who have died, or are living or working away.

The Minnesota Territory Census of 1850 has recently been pu'lished in typescript[2]. In contrast to the problem of studying Bromley, a growing suburb of S.E. London[3], the Minnesota census reveals a very low population density, in most areas. Ramsey County, with 384 households, has the largest population, and so it would be possible for a class to study some of the other counties in their entirety. The transcript does not give location, beyond listing the precinct, e.g.

RAMSEY COUNTY

Little Canada Precinct, 15th September

1.	McCarn	Charles	47	M	Labourer	Ireland
		Margaret	46	F		"
		Bridget	17	F		"
		John	12	M		Penn.
		Mary	8	F		Maryland
		Ellen	6	F		Penn.
		Francis	9/12	M		Minnesota
5.	Barter,	Thomas	40	M	Millwright	Ohio
		Jemima	36	F		Kentucky
		Catherine	13	F		Indiana

1 In Britain the censuses for 1851, 1861 and 1871 could be used, whilst for subsequent years local directories could be used.

2 P. C. Harpole and M. D. Nagle (ed.) Minnesota Territorial Census 1850 pub. by Minnesota Historical Society St. Paul (1972).

3 Bromley Parish Population 1851 4127, 1861 15154
1861 5505 1891 21684
1871 10674

Sarah Jane	9	F	Iowa
Wm. T.	1	M	Minnesota

From the place of birth of the members of the two households listed, one can see that the McCarn parents were Irish born and that they must have left Ireland between the birth of Bridget in 1834, and John in 1838. The father then spent a number of years working in Pennsylvania and Maryland, before moving to Minnesota where their youngest child was born. Of course, one would need to study several families before one was in a position to generalise about the movement of families, but one could soon establish where the majority were born, and which occupations were pursued. What it does not tell us is how long they stayed, whether they returned to the East, or perhaps moved further west, but individual families can often be studied through biographies as we shall see later. One interesting feature is that as the census was taken over a period of weeks, a few families appear more than once, being listed by different enumerators as they moved through the Territory.

f) Miscellaneous documents

Whilst examples of these can be found in source books, often more personal ones may be brought to school by the children, or introduced by the teacher. I have in mind the variety of documentation which arises out of war or national crisis. A study of the second World War, and the restrictions placed upon the ordinary citizen in England can be illustrated by documents which are still to be found in many homes[1]. Ration books have an all too familiar ring in the

1 Leonard Mosley Backs to the Wall Weidenfeld and Nicolson (1971) pp. 6 & 7 illustrates how preparations were being made in 1939 in a form sent by West Ham Council to all parents of schoolchildren - "In the event of an emergency, arrangements have been made to evacuate school children from the London area to safe places in the country. It is hoped that your child/children will participate in this scheme. On receipt of further instructions he/she/they should report to the Star Road School bringing with him/her/them hat, raincoat, haversack containing night-clothes, towel, soap, toothbrush and toothpaste, and he/she/they should wear a card round his/her/their neck(s) giving his/her/their full name(s), age(s), school, home address and names of next of kin."

present energy crisis (I went to collect my petrol coupons last week) but the concept of seeking to control and ration goods is unfamiliar to the modern child[1].

Clothing coupons, and such like may not be regarded as legitimate historical sources, but they help to bring history alive. As will be shown under oral sources, a local history project studying the Second World War can involve the local community, and certainly the parents and grandparents of the children. Questions such as:

How did the mother of the family manage? (Ask mother and grandmother).
How did the shopkeeper arrange a fair distribution of goods? (Ask the local Chamber of Commerce if they can suggest people who might talk to the class or allow themselves to be interviewed).

Sometimes documents themselves may provide a starting point for a topic. I have in my possession the naval discharge certificates of my grandfather. He was born in 1864, and at an early age went to sea. His first ship was "The Moorhill" of 484 tons, which he joined on the 27th April, 1883 at Barrow in Lancashire. The destination was Parahiba[2], in Brazil, and he was not to return until the following February. The next certificate shows that he was re-engaged in April 1884 and again discharged in the following February at Liverpool. This pattern continues for five years, with the time spent away being approximately ten months in each case. Here is an ideal basis for project

1 Diaries will be dealt with in Section B(a). Mosley gives an extract from the diary of a social worker in the Autumn of 1941:- "I had a new laid egg sent to me from the country for breakfast. First new laid egg I've had for five months. Have given away to a delicate child both my ration eggs during this period. There was an agony of decision over how to cook it; fried with bacon, omelette, scrambled? Decided that boiling made it more. How delicious it tasted as I rolled it round and round my mouth ... A friend of mine when she gets an egg can't bear to break the shell, with the result that two have gone bad on her and stank to high heaven when she at last went to use them." (Mosley P.284).

2 A province, or town in North Eastern Brazil.

work on ships and the sea in the nineteenth century combining elementary historical research and imaginative work. How large would a ship of 484 tons have been? How would it have been powered? Steam or sail? What goods might it have taken to and from Brazil? What would conditions on board have been like? Was the fact that the departure was in February on each occasion of any significance? Reference books, other extracts, museum visits and/or slides or pictures could form a basis for either a ship's log or dramatic work. Far better that a child or class who are concerned with whether something actually happened, should be presented with the details of a person who really lived in the past.

g) Newspapers

Whilst historians may argue whether newspapers should be included under primary or secondary sources, I would place them in the former category for school purposes as they are contemporary. However, we must encourage the child to be critical and to understand that bias, misreporting or omission may be as present in a newspaper of 100 years ago as it may be today.

Terry Coleman in his recent book Passage to America[1] tells us how often shipping firms mislead the would-be migrant. He gives an advertisement from a newspaper of the 1850's[2]. In it The Tapscott American Emigration Office, Liverpool, say that the tonnage of the McGarrick was 2,000 tons. In fact it was only 895 tons, and similarly the tonnage of all the other 27 ships listed are exaggerated. It would be difficult for either the child or the teacher to be able to detect this error without expert knowledge and usually we introduce such material for its content, seeking to cross-check for accuracy wherever possible. The Liverpool Mercury of July 9th, 1816

1 T. Coleman Passage to America : Hutchinson 1972

2 Ibid P.69

included the following three items:

i) "America : National Intelligence to the 17th; and Baltimore papers to the 19th June have been received. The news from New Orleans was favourable; the water had ceased to rise, and measures were taken to drain the water into the Cyprus swamp."

ii) For New York : The American Ship ANNEXQUAM

James Wilkinson, Master;

Burthen 245 tons, copper fastened and coppered to the bends, sails uncommonly fast, having made her last voyage to New York in 23 days, and now on her fourth voyage, will be despatched immediately with whatever freight that offers. For freight or passage (having elegant accommodation) apply to the Captain on board, in George's Dock, or John Richardson[1].

iii) After stating that vessels have arrived from the West Indies, South America, The Bahamas, etc. Mediterranean, Russia, France, Prussia and America the goods of recent arrivals are listed, e.g.

The NANCY from Philadelphia

279 bales of cotton, 4 bales of wool, 9 hogsheads of bark, 200 barrels of tar, 44320 bones, 77260 staves and 2 bags of snake root. In the same paper the Nancy was advertising for cargo and passengers. She was described as "a fine American ship" of 330 tons and was returning to Philadelphia.

From these three examples one can see the possibilities. Cotton predominates in the Nancy's cargo, does it on the other American ships? and at other times of the year? Raw materials and unfinished goods predominate. Was this typical? and if so what does it tell us about the American economy at that time? We are also able to calculate the crossing time from the newspaper dates in (i) and compare it with the sailing time advertised in (ii).

1 John Richardson, the shipping agent in Liverpool.

h) Directories, gazetteers and guides

In times of rapid urban development, inner city renewal, or expanding suburbia, children often have little conception of what their area was like in even their parents' childhood. In many cases the children will have been born elsewhere, and have little understanding or knowledge of the area in which they live. Directories, gazetteers and local guides can provide us with information about one's local area in the past. Many of the larger directories[1] list the householders street by street and give local detail, and thus provide an annual digest of change. They are the most accessible source for a study of the streets around the school, or the local shopping area. Sampling the local directories would show the type of shops over the years, the continuity or otherwise of ownership, and the changing nature of the shops from the locally based, multi-purposed shop of the early nineteenth century to the development of chain stores, and eventually to supermarkets and the decreasing number of privately owned shops[2].

Sometimes it is difficult to visualise how an area or activity has changed, particularly if the name has remained the same. Charles Knight gives a vivid description of Smithfield Meat Market in his Cyclopaedia of London, written in 1851[3].

1 For example Kelly's Directory has provided a detailed coverage of the English counties over the past 100 years.

2 A modern mail order catalogue provides an excellent picture of today's consumer goods and a comparison with one of 20 years ago would form a useful basis for comparative work. Several firms produce reprints of early works. David and Charles of Newton Abbot, Devon have recently reprinted Harrod's Mail Order Catalogue for 1894 and Baedeker's Guide to Russia, 1914. See also D. Boorstin, The Democratic Experience (1972) Random House, for an interesting survey of advertising and shopping in the United States.

3 Knight's Cyclopaedia of London, 1851 (P.797). It was probably written with an eye to the many visitors to London to see The Great Exhibition.

"There are two great thoroughfares by which the cattle are brought to London - from the north by Highgate Archway, and from the eastern counties by Whitechapel Road; large numbers are also brought by the various railways. They reach the outskirts of London on Sunday; about nine o'clock in the evening they are driven into the city, and continue arriving in Smithfield from that hour until the morning. In this large irregular area, comprising about three and a half acres, enclosed by houses, the scene on a foggy, wet, and wintry morning is one of which few persons not living in the immediate neighbourhood, or whose business does not require their attendance in the market, have an accurate conception. The drovers are furnished with torches to enable them to distinguish the marks on the cattle, to put the sheep into pens, and to form the beasts into "droves". There is not room to tie up much more than one-half of the cattle sent for sale, and the remainder are formed into groups of about twenty each, called "rings" or "off-droves," each beast with its head to the centre of the drove. This is not accomplished without the greatest exertion; and about two o'clock in the morning the scene is one of terrific confusion. To get the "beasts" into a ring, to enable purchasers to examine them more readily, the drovers aim blows at the heads of the animals, in endeavouring to avoid which they keep their heads towards the ground. Should they attempt to run backwards, a shower of blows forces them to remain in their position. The deterioration of the meat from this barbarity has been calculated at no less a sum than £100,000 a year - all this would be avoided if there were room to tie up the beasts. The exertions to prevent different flocks of sheep from mixing with each other are not so great, but here the drovers' dogs are useful. The lowing of the oxen, the tremulous cries of the sheep, the barking of dogs, the rattling of sticks on the heads and bodies of the animals, the shouts of the drovers, and the flashing about of torches, present altogether a wild and terrific combination: and few, either of those who reside in the metropolis, or who visit it, have the resolution to witness the strange scene."

Here we have the noise and activity of the market, and its importance in its contribution to the imaginative recreation of the scene, as much as for the information which it contains.

B. Personal

It is difficult to distinguish clearly between official and personal material. A private letter may be found in the Cabinet papers, which may be of a highly personal nature. Similarly Richard Nixon's recent deposition of his papers, on which he claimed tax relief, has revived the argument as to whether official papers belong to the State or to the individual.

a) Diaries

There are many diaries written by the famous, and I would not wish to suggest that these should be neglected, but today it is possible to read published diaries from a much wider range of people. Many of these have been published because they are valuable as social history, giving depth and insight into those whose lives would otherwise only have been studied as statistics.

Examples

i) A War Diary 1915 by a 2nd Corporal, Royal Engineers serving in France. The majority of war reminiscences have been written by the officers who served. Goodbye to All That by Robert Graves is an accepted classic[1], but diaries written by those serving in the ranks are rare. One such is With a Machine Gun to Cambrai by George Coppard[2] who served as a private in the war and who after his retirement wrote up his diary as a book.

1 First published by Cassell in 1929

2 Published for the Imperial War Museum by H.M.S.O. London (1969). See also N. Gladden : Across the Piave H.M.S.O. London (1970) and J. Laffin (ed.) Letters from the Front 1914-1918 Dent (1973). This is an anthology of letters from those involved in the war. It is of particular interest because most of the nationalities involved are represented.

I was brought a diary for 1915 by a 15 year old in a school where I was teaching a few years ago. The diary had been kept by her grandfather, who had recently died. It contains many abbreviations, but is important as it gives the feel of war - the monotony, the terror and the degradation of the trenches comes clearly through in the writings of this signalman:

18th March 1915. Moved - Marched 10 miles over filthy roads - everybody pretty footsore. Finished the rest of journey by motor-bus. Billetted in a barn with a roof like a sieve. Heavy snow during night no blankets - nearly frozen.

25th April 1915. ... Came up to take over line near Festeburt.
and 26th and 27th

Havoc around terrible - church and graveyard blown to bits parts of bodies over the place. Went over the wires with 18th linesman. Jolly risky game. The bright moon adding to the risk. Strays flying all over the shop and snipers kept us on the jump. Got back alright. Began tracing the wires, fairly jumpy work but getting used to it now. Steve and I quite cheerful on the job. Germans shelled us for over an hour. ... Arrived tired and slept soundly.

ii) Willian Andrews, Designer in the Silk Industry in Coventry, Warwicks. 1862

Andrews started his diary in 1850 and in it recounted his success in the silk industry as he rose from apprentice to wealthy business man. This extract illustrates the length of hours which were worked by the majority of workers at this time. Andrews had risen to the position of Designer at a salary of £100 per year.

23: May 1862 I do not like my situation. I have to leave my father's house soon after 5 a.m. in order to walk the distance to King Fields and be there before 6 O'clock. I cannot leave the place before 6 p.m. at earliest (I have arranged to get breakfast and dinner on the spot). It is generally about 7 p.m. before I can get home. Sometimes it is later for Cash's are still building looms, and they have got into a squabble with a loom builder in St. Etienne ..... and I have to do some correspondence and there is no other than myself connected with this firm sufficiently competent at French - and I have not a moment to spare in the daytime, I occasionally have to stay later at night to attend to this. The long hours, the incessant harass, ahd the impossibility of obtaining sleep owing to the fear of being too late in the mornings are beginning to affect my health, I am gradually becoming unwell."[1]

b) Letters

Letters can be of historical importance in themselves, giving important information not available from any other source. They may also keep to substantiate arguments, or fill gaps in a particular chronology. In all these cases a single letter is useful to the historian only in relation to a

1 Ed. by V. E. Chancellor. Evelyn, Adams and Mackay 1969 P. 57
Master and Artisan in Victorian England : The Diary of Wm. Andrews and the Autobiography of Joseph Gutteridge.

variety of other primary sources and even a published collection of letters may only be an edited collection. In schools a letter may be introduced as part of a larger group of materials on a subject. It may illustrate a particular facet of a person's personality through his own writing or through writing by a third party. A document may also be included in order to give the reader the experience of being there and the view of the contemporary.

Horace Walpole, the English essayist, wrote to Sir Horace Mann on the 2nd February, 1774 telling him that he had "no news public or private; but there is an ostrich egg laid in America, where the Bostonians have canted 300 chests of tea into the ocean, for they will not drink tea with our Parliament."[1] The letter continues in similar vein. Its value is not in telling us the number of chests thrown into Boston Harbour, for Walpole, though a contemporary, was far removed from the events taking place in America. It is rather an indication of the attitudes held by Walpole. An historian though would certainly be wary about generalising from the views expressed by Walpole to the views of Whig Politicians, in general.

The relevance of this point for the classroom is that whilst individual items will be introduced, children should be helped to come to appreciate not only the value, but the limitations of evidence. Teachers of mixed ability classes of older children will be familiar with the readiness to generalise from the particular, and the inability of certain children to relate more than a minimum number of variables.[2]

1 Quoted in The Open University A100 Unit No.6 P.33 1972

2 The research on children's historical thinking and their ability to make historical judgement is relevant here. Two examples of recent English articles are J. B. Coltham; The Development of Thinking and the Learning of History Historical Assoc. T.H. No.34, 1971.
R. N. Hallam; Thinking and Learning in History Teaching History No. 1972.

Examples

i) A "Swing" Letter

Captain "Swing" was one of the pseudonyms used by incendiarists and agricultural machine breakers during 1830-1831. The following extract is taken from Captain Swing by E. J. Hobsbawm and G. Rude. The letter is brief and to the point. The impact of a letter of this kind in school would be greater if a photostat of the original were used.

Sir,

This is to acquaint you that if your thrashing machines are not destroyed by you directly we shall commence our labours.

Signed on behalf
of the whole
Swing [1]

ii) Two postcards written by an English tourist travelling to Italy in 1922

2nd August 1922 Chiasso, Switzerland

A slight contretemps! I ought to have had my passport visa. Consequently they sent me back from the frontier to Lugano, where I spent last night in a charming Swiss hotel. I join friends at Milan today - there is a strike in Italy and the military are running the trains, so seems a little uncertain.

D.G.

3rd August 1922 Perugia, Italy

We reached here at 11 this morning after a very prolonged journey owing to the strike - which is now supposed to be over! The line and trains run by volunteers "Fascisti". However we did very well. A letter tomorrow with all details.

D.G.

1 E. J. Hobsbawm and G. Rude, Captain Swing, Lawrence and Wishart (1969) P.204. The original is in the P.R.O.

For classes studying the rise of Fascism in Italy in the 1920's, the above comments pose several interesting questions on conditions in Italy prior to Mussolini's March on Rome. Strikes are mentioned. Were these peculiar to the North of Italy, or spread throughout the country? Notice also how "the military" mentioned in the postcard from Switzerland turns out to be "the fascisti". How did the Fascits get sufficient support to man the trains as "volunteers"?

iii) A postcard written to a friend in Forest City, Iowa in 1910 from a friend on a Midwestern farm.

To Jennie 23rd August 1910

Tues morning - Alice came down yesterday and brought a pail of cucumbers and gave to us girls so with what Minn. sent down we have 4 gallons in brine and will have a gal(lon) any way, ... Am going to iron, can corn and dry some corn today, and bake bread. I had a nice peddlar call this morning. It is 9 o'clock and Ava has just woke up.

From Ella

We may well have to return to the more simple life, but until we do the life described above can give insight, particularly to the city child used to modern marketing. Here we have rural America before the First World War, when the mail order catalogue was the main means of seeing and acquiring the consumer durables of Urban America. Younger children might well suggest the sort of goods which a peddlar might carry, and collect information from the class as a whole on how many things are made or prepared in their homes today.

c) Literary sources

We all have our favourites, but space only allows a few examples to illustrate the diversity of the material. Memoirs and autobiographies contain valuable material, but it is essential that when children are studying these in their entirety they should be encouraged to find out and consider such details

as a) the first date of publication, as one can easily be mislead by the cover of a modern edition. In England many books are deliberately reissued to synchronise with their serialisation on television, and many classics have been bought by the unwary, as the result of modern packaging and design.
b) How was the book compiled? Was a diary kept from which a later memoir was written? How close to the event(s) described was the author in time and distance? How informed was the author?
c) How committed politically was the writer? How far was he seeking to put his own record straight? Political memoirs may thus be written by those who are closely involved in events, but who may be seeking to justify their actions. One should also be aware of descriptions given of contemporary politicians, and always seek to compare their comments with other writings.

Thus all extracts should include the title, author, and first date and place of publication, and children should be taught to ask for these details. Whenever possible the books from which the extracts have been drawn, should be available. In addition, slides or photographs or copies of the originals could be shown and discussed with the children, where the source is not available in modern book form.

Examples i) Stalin

Stalin is a controversial figure of the twentieth century about whom much has been written. Possibly the best biography is by the late Isaac Deutscher, even though it has been criticised by both the left and the right. Deutscher himself was a Polish Communist who after being expelled from the Polish Communist Party in 1932 moved to Western Europe in 1939, and his book was first published in 1949. In direct contrast we have the official biography of Stalin published in Moscow in 1943[1], which in turn may be contrasted with the biography of Stalin

1 Stalin : A Political Biography O.U.P. London 1949 revised 1966

by his arch-enemy, Trotsky[1].

Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his novel "First Circle"[2] has several interesting word pictures of Stalin, in which he stresses his isolation and mistrust of his subordinates. Here we are going beyond conventional historical sources into literature, which is acceptable, so long as it is clearly recognised as fiction. Nevertheless, the novel was written by an author who served in Soviet labour camps during Stalin's rule, and this is valid as a comment on Stalin by one of his contemporaries. It is essential though that a person reading it for historical insights should know Solzhenitsyn's situation in order that he may be able to assess elements of autobiography[3] which it may contain.

Stalin : Extract I Antony Eden describes in his memoirs his first meeting with Stalin in 1935[4]

As we entered I saw standing there a short, thick-set man with hair en brosse. He was in a grey tunic, with rather baggy dark trousers and calf length boots. I never saw Stalin in anything but a variant of this uniform. He always appeared well laundered and neatly dressed.

Stalin impressed me from the first and my opinion of his abilities has never wavered. His personality made itself felt without effort or exaggeration. He had natural good manners, perhaps a Georgian inheritance. Though I knew the man to be without mercy, I respected the quality of his mind and even felt a sympathy which I have never been able entirely to analyse. Perhaps this was because of Stalin's pragmatic approach. It was easy to forget that

1 L. Trotsky Stalin : An appraisal of the man and influence ed. by C. Malamuth (1947) Hollis and Carter.

2 First Circle : Solzhenitsyn's first novel

3 One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich : Collancy 1963 contains a good deal of autobiographical material. It was first published in the November issue of Novy Mir, the Soviet literary magazine and all 94,000 copies were quickly sold.

4 Eden A. Facing the Dictators (1962) Cassell

I was talking to a party man, certainly none could ever have been less doctrinaire. I cannot believe that Stalin ever had an affinity with Marx, he never spoke of him as if he did: during our several meetings during the war, sometimes with Churchill but as often alone, I always found the encounter stimulating, grey and stern though the agenda often had to be. I have never known a man handle himself better in conference. Well informed at all points that were of concern to him, Stalin was prudent but not slow, seldom raising his voice, a good listener, prone to doodling, he was the quietest dictator I have ever known with the exception of Dr. Salazar. Yet the strength was there, unmistakably.

One would need to know Eden's position in 1935 and the reason for his visit to Moscow. Equally well, one would need to be familiar with Stalin's position at the time. The extract shows that whilst the memoir may have been constructed from contemporary sources in the form of diaries and reports, references to later events are included. Eden has given his impression of Stalin through his first hand knowledge, but has flavoured it with the advantage of hindsight, writing at a time when he could survey subsequent events, which embraced not only the Second World War, but the death of Stalin in 1953.

Extract II Svetlana describes an incident in the summer of 1951[1]

My father had unpleasant memories of his journey here because he couldn't stand the sight of a crowd applauding him and shouting 'Hurrah'. His face would twitch with annoyance each time it happened. Here, at the Kutaisi railway station, his Georgian countrymen had given him such a reception that he'd been unable to leave the train and get into his car. People literally threw themselves under the wheels. They crawled and shouted and threw flowers and carried their children on their shoulders. Here, if nowhere else, it was warm-blooded, unfeigned and sincere. Here, if anywhere it was straight from

1 Svetlana Alliluyeva 20 Letters to a Friend Hutchinson (1967) P.211

the heart, but my father was angry anyway. He was accustomed by this time to having the stations empty and cleared for his arrival and to the roads he travelled on being empty. He wasn't used to hearing people shout and hurl themselves at his car. He had altogether forgotten that feelings of this kind could be sincere and not put on.

Svetlana wrote her memoir in 1963, ten years after the death of her father, and in the preface to her book said that at the time of writing she had no knowledge that it might be published. It was written in Russia in 35 days, and smuggled to India, from where she retrieved it when she left Russia in 1967. Its value lies in the impressions and insights which she gives of her father. Much of the isolation of his later life comes through, as does his mistrust of those around him, including his friends and relatives.

Before one concludes the literary sources, I must mention two final examples. The first comes from a biography "The Restless Ones"[1] in which Mrs. Morosco describes, from family records, how her forebears Ebenezer and Jane Hodson and their son Hannibal, journey west. I think that it evokes the difficulties of the journey, and the way in which the migrants were sometimes mislead by the railway companies as to the climate of the distant lands.

"On a windy April morning 1852 the little Hodson family gathered in front of the small railroad station at Penobscot, Maine awaiting the train that would take them down the seaboard to Portland. This was not to be the end of the journey. Indeed, it was scarcely the first lap.

At Portland they would board a second train for Boston, where they would change for New York, and after a long wait, board another train for Chicago. Here they would spend half the night in the railroad station before leaving on the fifth and last train which would make connections with the stagecoach

1 B Morosco : The Restless Ones Ross and Haines Minn. U.S.A. (1963)

that would drive them to Galena and Illinois. From Galena they would take a steamer up the Mississippi River, but the last few miles of their journey to St. Paul, capital of Minnesota Territory would be by ox cart".[1]

There follows some 18 pages describing their journey, giving descriptions of fellow passengers "the coaches have been jam-packed with immigrants who spoke little or no English —— Germans, Scandinavians, Finns and Irish"; the discomfort and hardships of the journey until they finally reached "a miserable port" on the Mississippi where after a night in a "dormitory style rooming house covered with tar paper, which ... afforded the opportunity to wash away the cinders and sleep in a real bed" they set off by ox cart to St, Paul.

"Jane noticed with surprise the berobed driver, clad in fur as if he were driving to Siberia, but they had no sooner started when she learned the wisdom of his attire. A sharp wind was blowing and the wagons groaned like a sailing vessel in a storm. Instead of green pastures there was nothing but ice and huge piles of snow ...

Instead of growing warmer it grew colder by the minute and they were heading due north for a drive of 15 miles. "It's a late season" volunteered the driver, whose teeth were black from chewing tobacco. "Yours was the second boat to come down this year - but three years ago we had a humdinger - snows up to the last week in May.

At last Jane realised they had been tricked. Minnesota was NOT a winter resort. "They lied to us", she told Ebenezer; "this is the first day of May and it's as cold as Maine in February."[2]

1 Morosco op.cit. P.1

2 Morosco, op.cit. P.19

Material such as this could provide ideal material for work by 11-13 year olds. The route could be followed on a large physical map of the United States; the means of transport could be researched - the train, the steamer, the stagecoach and the more primitive carts. The detail is of immediate appeal - the fares "$2 apiece for adults and free to children under seven", the train crew who crawled out "chopped down some trees when the engine ran out of firewood", gives imaginative, and fairly accurate historical material which the ordinary text book does not provide. Older children could link this sort of material with that of the Minnesota Territory Census of 1850; old photographs, railway and steamer advertisements, other memoirs and local histories.

The final example comes from the realm of children's literature. Laura Ingalls Wilder has been a favourite for over 40 years. Her books begin with the story of her own early childhood in Wisconsin in the 1870's. They provide a fascinating account of the hardships and life of the settler in a clear and simple language which make them attractive to the 9-13 age range. On the other hand they have a quality which makes them appeal to readers of all ages, and could well encourage grandparents to recount their early days and the stories passed on by their parents.

Extract III L. Ingalls Wilder : The Little House in the Big Woods[1]

"Once upon a time, sixty years ago, a little girl lived in the Big Woods of Wisconsin, in a little grey house made of logs.

The great, dark trees of the Big Woods stood all around the house, and beyond them were other trees and beyond them were more trees. As far as a man could go north in a day, or a week, or a whole month, there was nothing but woods. There were no houses. There were no roads. There were no people. There were only trees and the wild animals who had their homes among them."

1 First published in the U.S.A. 1932 Extract from the Penguin edition, London (1973) P.7

Here the scene is set for the first story and in it we read of an isolation which is so unfamiliar to the modern child, who though he may be living in the remote area at least has access to the outside world through the radio, television and modern transport. Accurate historical reconstruction and imagination of situations is something which teachers too readily assume from the children, but even children with a developed time sense, enter the past through the eyes of the present, and need assistance, in a variety of forms, to re-enact the past - sometimes a cultural shock is necessary.

II. ORAL SOURCES

Perhaps because of the increasing pace of modern life, when both the mobility of families and the transformation of our landscape seems to be ever accelerating, oral history has developed. In many cases this is an attempt to record before it is too late, both the dialects, experiences and traditions or previous generations. Oral history is not new, but with portable cassette recorders it has become easier both to record and replay. The media, particularly our own B.B.C. is an archive in itself, whilst the development of local history has led to a lot of good work being undertaken by local history societies and extra-mural groups.[1]

At the school level, local history has played a part in the curriculum for many years, but with the increasing emphasis on the school as part of the community and the development of local history on a broader, less antiquarian level, oral history is being recognised as one of the many vital sources.

For our purposes oral sources will be divided into three sections:-

1) Interviews which can be carried out as part of a piece of work by the children on either the local area, or on events which those interviewed, have experienced. These may not be on the local area specifically, but may be on such topics as war experiences or national elections. We saw under I f)[2] how a class may be undertaking a topic on life on the Home Front during the Second World War. Printed sources such as newspapers and directories would supply much of the factual materials. Maps and photographs would also

1 The B.B.C. in 1972 produced a 26-part series on Local History which covered the whole range of materials and techniques. This was accompanied by a source book written by the series editor A. Rogers : This was their World B.B.C. 1972. In addition, the Open University in 1974 are introducing a higher level course Great Britain 1750-1950 : Sources and Historiography which will concentrate on sources locally available to the students.

2 See Miscellaneous documents p.17-19

be used. Parents would, wherever possible, be actively engaged in suggesting sources, and turning out useful material. Once the class were familiar with the background, interviews could be arranged. It may be best to prepare a simple questionnaire, which could supply certain basic answers about the interviewee before the interview took place. This is particularly important when one is interviewing older people on less definite events than the war. There is a tendency for descriptions to cover broad periods of time, which may cover both childhood and adolescence. Sometimes things which they heard described in childhood may be incorporated as happening to them. Thus one needs to establish key dates, such as their date and place of birth, numbers in family, years of schooling, dates and nature of employment. If this is done the interview can be more specific, the interviewer can research any necessary details, and decide on possible questions. It may be found useful to take photographs or maps to the interview which can be discussed. After the interview, information can be cross-checked and related to other sources. The interview can then (after editing if necessary) be played to the class.

I heard an interview carried out by Swadelands Secondary School in Lenham, Kent with a man who described hearing three bombs fall alongside the railway not far from the village during the Second World War. On looking at aerial photographs of the area the boy found only two crater holes. He was faced with the problem of which evidence was the most reliable?

At the same school another boy talked to a local farmer, who named his fields for him. The boy was then able to consult several old maps and discovered that the farmer's field names were largely the ones which were used on an estate map of the seventeenth century. They had remained largely through the oral tradition.[1]

1 George Ewart Evans has written several books on traditions of rural England, which are based essentially on interviews with old people. See for example Ask the Fellow that Cut the Hay Faber (1956)

The best taped interviews should be filed for succeeding groups to use as evidence. It may be useful to make the best available to the local library or record office, and publicity in the local paper will usually provide further sources.

The History Faculty at Mankato State College, Minnesota, where I spent a very enjoyable term as an exchange professor in the Autumn of 1972, invited the Senior Citizens to college to talk to faculty and students about the past. At a different level I found that encouraging my students on the outline course "History in the U.S. since 1877" to talk about events we were discussing in class with their parents and grandparents was very rewarding. In class we had examples of the Red Scare of 1919, the effects of the ante-German feeling in both World Wars, the impact of the Depression years upon the Mid-West and of attitudes towards foreign policy.[1]

Not all oral interviews will be recorded on tape, but if not the children should be encouraged to record what they hear in written form, preferably from notes taken at the time of the interview.

In conclusion, I came across an early and interesting example of oral history in "Old Rail Fence Corners"[2] published by The Old Settlers Book Company in 1914. It consisted of a series of short reports of interviews made with old inhabitants of Minnesota who had moved into the Territory in the 1840's and 1850's. Mr. James McMullen described his journey from Maine to Minnesota in 1849, and it was very similar to that undertaken by the Hodsons[3]. Referring back to the Minnesota Territory Census of 1850 we find James McMullen living in St. Antony, Ramsey County. He was employed

1 One student presented as part of his course work for me an interview with his mother and father. His father had held a Standard Oil franchise in the 1930's but was forced to give it up and move to factory work in the town, when local farmers unable to pay for petrol in cash, took to seeking to pay in kind - in animals and foodstuffs.

2 Old Rail Fence Corner op.cit. p.31-32

3 See P.31-33 and see how differing types of historical material can give support to others.

b) Other Contemporary Film including films for the cinema and television. E.g. The popular television series, or the latest cinema film of the past. This is a difficult source to use in schools, but one which the social historian regards as essential.

ii) Modern films which use documentary material. Perhaps the best known example of this type is the B.B.C. Great War Series which was based almost entirely on archive film. Another good example is Paul Rotha's The Life of Adolf Hitler, which is best shown to older children. It also illustrates the controversy over the use of film as primary material. Certainly one finds documentaries containing snippets of original film, but they may not necessarily be shot at the time or presented in the right order. Battle scenes are often interchanged and may not relate to the battle described. A. J. P. Taylor, recounts how Eisenstein, in making his film on the Russian Revolution several years after the event, did more damage to the Winter Palace in reconstructing the event, than occurred at the time. Eisenstein was quite entitled to dramatise an event as he saw fit, but occasionally we see parts of his film used in documentaries of 1917. The ephemeral nature of a film or television programme which cannot be seen again has been in part overcome through supplementing them with study material in the form of documents, tapes, slides or film strips e.g. I.L.E.A. World History series, B.B.C. Modern History and various I.T.V. schools' productions. Most of the sources described above are available in a variety of forms. The spread of photocopying has enabled schools to have access to many items, which previously would have proved difficult to acquire and duplicate.

as a millwright, age 29, which means that the interview took place around 1911, when he was said to have been in his ninetieth year.

Mrs. Martha Thorne came to Minnesota some five years after James McMullen and in the description of her journey from Davenport, Iowa to Lake Crystal and the building of their log cabin, we have an excellent account which children would enjoy. The following could be supplemented by old photographs and would be a good historical basis for model making.

"We built a log cabin with chinkins to let in the air. We filled in the cracks except where these chinkins were, with mud. The roof was made by laying popple poles so they met in the middle and fastening them together. Over this we laid a heavy thickness of wild hay, and over that the popple poles again, well tied with hand twisted ropes of wild hay, to those below. It was a good roof, only it leaked like a sieve. The floor was just the ground. Over it we put a layer of the wild hay and then staked a rag carpet over it. A puncheon shelf to put my trunk under, and the furniture placed, made a home that I was satisfied with. It took my husband over two weeks with a pair of trotting oxen to go for the furniture to St. Paul[1].

2) Commercially produced historical records and tapes

This is a rich and increasing type of source material which we may roughly divide between a) the spoken word b) songs and music

a) The spoken word

The B.B.C. produces several excellent radio programmes, from their sound archives and the interviews, discussions and speeches made by our contemporaries are daily being added. In addition, the B.B.C. has an extensive schools service and programmes are either taken live in the classroom or are recorded for use at a more convenient time.

1 Old Rail Fence Corner op.cit., 78-80

Examples of records which have been made from B.B.C. programmes containing original material are:

1939 : Into the Storm (RESR3)[1]

Gandhi : Man on Trial (RESR4)[1]

B.B.C. "Scrapbook" : 1914 L. Bailey (493 015 FDL)[2]

B.B.C. " : 1940 " (493 014 FDL)[2]

B.B.C. " : 1945 " (493 016 FDL)[2]

Finally, one must distinguish between original material which is read by an actor, and a contemporary recording. Clearly the former will be used for events prior to modern recording, and also for programmes on leaders of the twentieth century such as Mao-tse-tung, Hitler or Mussolini. However, short excerpts from the original speeches are well worth playing to children for their authenticity and the atmosphere of the crowd, though film would be even better.

b) Songs and Music

I am assured that one cannot reproduce exactly the sounds of earlier music, but if one was studying a topic on Elizabethan England, a modern recording illustrating the various instruments, and slides or drawing of the instruments would be useful.[3] There are several music groups which in fact tour the schools playing medieval and early modern music on reproductions of the early instruments.

1 Distributed by B.B.C. Radio Enterprises

2 These are distributed by Philips/Fontana. The scrapbook programmes concentrate on a particular year, which is reconstructed through original recordings, people s memories of the year in question. They seek to recreate the atmosphere through words and music and do not follow a strict chronology.

3 The Open University produced a record Renaissance Music as part of their course on the Renaissance and Reformation in 1972. It features clavichord, harpsichord and organ.

Both England and the United States have a wealth of folk music. In England A. L. Lloyd has done much good work in rescuing and recording early scores and lyrics, whilst modern folk singers are still continuing the tradition, not only through modern folk songs reflecting our contemporary situation, but also through the continued popularity of older ballads. From a historical point of view one should seek to ensure that the recording keeps to the original as far as possible, although folk music is a living art and many words of traditional ballads have been altered to better fit a contemporary event. The ones to avoid are the newly written versions of historical themes, though one cannot be dogmatic. Some are well-researched and well worth using, and the music itself has a meaning and relevance to the modern child.

Example I The Durham Lock-out[1]

In wor Durham County I'm sorry for te say
That hunger an' starvation is increasing every day.
For the want o' food an' coals we know not what to do,
But with your kind assistance we'll see the battle through.

I need not state the reason why we've been browt se low.
The masters have behaved unkind, which everyone will know.
Because we won't lie doon an' let them treat us as they like,
To punish us they've stopped the pits an' caused the present strike.

There follow three more verses. Two points arise a) that many folk songs, and especially industrial music, are in dialect. Some may be rejected because they are too difficult to be understood,

1 The Iron Muse (12T86) A Panorama of Industrial Folk Music - Topic Records Ltd. 27 Nassington Road, London, N.W.3 produce interesting short pamphlets for teachers of history and the humanities. See also Steam Whistle Ballads (12T104)

but if the lyrics are to be used, it is essential to have a typescript of the lyrics for use with the class. b) A song needs to be put into its historical context. The song quoted above was written in May 1892. Coal prices had slumped, and the owners proposed a 10% wage reduction. The men refused and a strike followed. After six weeks, with the miners near starvation, the wage cut was accepted, but now the miners demanded 13½% ("Te give them thorteen and a half we shall ever refuse"). At this point the ballad was written. The strike was eventually ended, with a 10% cut being accepted. Without this detail much of the ballad's value would be lost.

Example II High-Toned Southern Gentleman[1]

The last verse of a Northern satirical song. It was sung to the seventeenth century English tune of the "Fine Old English Gentleman".

"Of course, he's all the time in debt to those who credit give,
Yet manages upon the best the market yields to live;
But if a Northern creditor asks him his bill to heed,
This honourable gentleman instantly draws his bowie knife and pistols, dons a blue cockade, and declares that, in consequence of the repeated aggressions of the North and its gross violations of the Constitution, he feels that it would utterly degrade him to pay any debt whatever, and in fact he has at last determined to SECEDE!

This "high-toned southern gentleman", one of the present time.

1 Examples II and III are taken from Songs of the Civil War : Folkways Records FH5717. This double album contains 33 ballads accompanied by the lyrics and historical detail.

Example III Oh, I'm a good old Rebel[1]

In contrast to the above, there follows the second and final verse of a bitter southern song written during Reconstruction by Major Innes Randolph.

I hate the constitution
This great Republic, too,
I hate the Freedman's Bureau,
In uniforms of blue;
I hate the nasty eagle,
With all his brag and fuss,
The lying, thieving yankees,
I hate them wuss and wuss.

I can't take my musket
And fight'om now no more;
But I ain't a-going to love 'em,
Now that is sartain sure;
And I don't want no pardon,
For what I was and am;
I won't be reconstructed,
And I don't care a ... cent.

1 Folkways Record

III. ARTEFACTS

Under this heading is classified anything made by man. At Wakefield in Yorkshire the schools' Museum service pioneered a loan system for schools in the county, whereby schools are able to borrow boxes of artefacts, or loan specially constructed models and replicas.

The London Museum, housed in Kensington Palace, lays great score on making objects available for children visiting the museum to touch. Classes who visit the museum, which specialises in the history of London are allowed to handle objects which are genuine, but reasonably common. For example, if a class were studying Roman London, an oil lamp might be demonstrated in a darkened room, and then would be passed round for the children to handle and look at. Similarly, at the Geffreye Museum[1], in Whitechapel, children can not only see an excellent collection of ordinary rooms of the past, full of the brick-brac, furniture and utensils of everyday life, but also dress up or perform tasks of a previous age. The tactile is an essential part of the historical imagination. It it were not the expense of taking children on field work, and to visit museums would not be justified, seeing, feeling, or being in a particular place where an important event took place all add a dimension to the historical imagination.

At a different level coins, notes and stamps are artefacts, but not ones which should be handled[2]. Children are great collectors and many children collect stamps and coins. Neither need to be rare to be historically

1 Both these museums provide useful work sheets for children. They are aimed at getting the children to look at the objects and materials on display, and the children have to look beyond the information tickets detailing the object. All too often work cards require children to do no more than copy these out. These require children to sketch, to compare, contrast, and select. In fact to start by looking.

2 Coins and notes should be put into plastic folders or envelopes. They can thus be passed round and studied by a class without damage being done. Alternatively, coins, notes or stamps may be photographed and shown enlarged in slide form.

interesting. A study of fascism in Europe would benefit from looking at the coins and stamps of Italy and Germany during these years. A printed postcard of 1934 in my possession has a printed stamp showing Hitler, alongside Hindenburg, illustrating the Nazi attempt to stress the continuity and legality of their regime.

At a different level English trade tokens of the eighteenth century were issued by manufacturers and traders when there was a shortage of official small coin. In the main they are well produced and are splendid illustrations of the Industrial Revolution.

Particularly interesting, and still fairly common are the tokens issued by the Iron Master, John Wilkinson, one of the greatest ironmasters of the eighteenth century, operated blast furnaces and foundries at four different sites, and he issued a large number of tokens. Such was his pride, that he placed himself on many of the coins, as would a monarch. This led the Gentlemen's Magazine in 1787 to lampoon him as follows:

> So Wilkinson, from this example
> Gives of himself a matchless sample ..
> Which shows his modesty and sense
> And how and where, he made his pence[1]

The reverse of these tokens usually portrayed a scene from the industry in question. The Darbys had their Iron Bridge at Coalbrookdale on their coins, and inscribed around the edge was where the token was valid.

Local examples could be used directly in studying local industries, whilst those of other areas could enhance a topic in the Industrial Revolution. They would lead to questions such as How was it that the industrialists could assume the guise of George III, or transform Britannia into a lady holding not

1 Quoted in P. Mathias :English Trade Tokens. Abelard Schuman (1962) P.56

a shield, but a cog wheel in one hand, and a drill, instead of a spear, in the other?[1] and what might happen to people paid in tokens which were only negotiable at factory shops?[2]

If this were thought to be an example of a series which few would come across, a look at the present English decimal currency would contribute in small part to a study of the Reformation. Around the edge of the obverse is the inscription D. G. Reg. F. D. 1973 Elizabeth II. Several questions emerge. What do the initials mean? Why Dei Grâei? Why Fid Def? Why in latin? What is the origin of, and relationship of these inscriptions with the monarch?

Similarly, a look at the present American currency would show the following Presidents represented:

1c Lincoln ; 5c Jefferson; 10c Roosevelt; 25c Washington;

50c Kennedy; $1 either a note, or coin with Eisenhower

Children could be encouraged to identify the figures and would note that they were all Presidents. Do they reflect a balance between the two political parties? Are there other Presidents who have a strong claim for having their portrait on the coinage? Children should be encouraged to look and question. An older group studying the Federal Reserve Act of 1927 would find the current American paper money a good source. What are the names of the seven note-issuing banks?[3] Do the seven reflect distribution by area, or population? How were notes issued before this?

Stamps too are an important source. The U.S. Postal service issued an interesting book in 1972[4] which would be a useful source. In addition stamps

1 The reverse of a ½d. token issued by the Copper Company, Macclesfield, Cheshire.

2 Paragraph 5083 of the report quoted under Section Ib reads Could you dispose of their wages, when they had received them ...? They have never said anything to me, but the children have said, "If we do not bring some little from the shop I'm afraid we shall lose our work".

3 e.g. 1. Federal Reserve Bank, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

4 U.S. Stamps and their Stories : (1972) Scott Publishing Co.

are well documented in a wide range of catalogues which give pictures and relevant information.[1]

Changes in a country's Government are reflected in stamps. Before unification, stamps were issued by each of the Italian states. Unification saw a national issue with the portrait of King Victor Emmanuel (1861-1878)[2]. The First World War saw the transfer of Trentino to Italy and in 1918 Austrian stamps were overprinted:

Regno d'Italia

Trentino

3 Nov. 1918

Mussolini's occupation of Corfu is shown through the stamps of 1923 which were overprinted CORFU. Meanwhile the stamps of Fascist Italy looked not to the future, but to the golden age of the Roman past. The designs of the issues 1929-42 were

2c The Fascist Arms of Italy

5c Romulus Remus and the Wolf

7½ Julius Caesar

10 and 20 Augustus the Great

15 Italia

25 The King, Victor Emmanuel III

1943 saw the Allied Invasion of Italy and Italian stamps overprinted Governo Militare Alleato. So long as Mussolini's resistance continued in the North his stamps were overprinted with either the fasces and/or Republica Sociale Italiana

After his defeat the republic was established in June 1946 and the lower value stamps now had Freedom (1c), Work, Family and Justice (20c), Planting a sapling (40c), Enlightenment (4 lire).

1 The vogue of collecting stamps by themes as well as by country, provides many themes suitable for topic work in the Primary school.

2 Some states such as the Vatican and San Marino remain independent and continue their own stamps.

Similar examples could be given for most countries. My point is that stamps are a visual record and may be a comment on a country's political position, ideology, social or economic situation. Children studying the problems of the Weimar Republic have great difficulty understanding what is meant by inflation, at the level which was experienced during the latter part of 1923. Stamps and bank notes of Germany provide visual evidence. The postal authorities were unable to keep pace with the rapidly depreciation of the mark, and therefore had recourse to surcharging existing issues, such as 5 Tausend on 40 pf. and 2 m on 5 Thou. The largest increase was an overprinting of 1 milliarde (1000 000 000 m) on a 100 m mark stamp in November 1923[1]. The notes of the period similarly reflect the inflation and later the moves towards the stabilisation of the currency with the Rentenmark of 1924 and the Dawes Plan.

1 Photographic evidence of the time shows individuals taking suitcases full of bank notes to buy the essentials of life.

IV. VISUAL SOURCES

Several visual sources have already been referred to, and in the next section on the landscape there will be many references to the interrelation of the various sources centring around a local study. We may categorise the leading visual sources as follows:

1. Maps

Many early maps may be no more than impressions, and it is not until the development of surveying that we get the necessary degree of accuracy. In Great Britain the first Ordnance Survey Maps date from 1801, but in the previous century we had seen the first of several large scale county maps.[1]

2. Paintings

This is a valuable, though difficult source. Art History is a discipline in its own right and history teachers may feel that they are not sufficiently equipped to handle this source. This would be a pity, and slightly illogical for many would discuss the Lascaux cave paintings, Egyptian friezes and Medieval wall paintings, but may ignore paintings of the nineteenth century which may give us not only detail, which the photograph was soon to emulate, but the images, hopes, and styles of the period[2].

Remember that paintings often served a functional purpose before the advent of the camera. Marriages between royalty were sometimes arranged on the dubious evidence of the flattering portrait, whilst the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich has on display many official paintings. For example the official painting of the Siege of Havana by the British in 1762 can be cross-checked for accuracy with the logs of the various ships engaged in the affair. Thus as with written sources it is essential to know who the picture was painted by, when, the purpose of the picture and the general background of the time.

1 Notable amongst these are a) J. Rocque, An Exact Survey of the Cities of London, Westminster ... Southwark and ... 10 miles around London (1746) 5½" and 26" to the mile Pub. by H. Margary and Phillimore 1971 b) Andrews, Drury and Herbert, A Topographical Map of the County of Kent (1769) 2" to the mile Reprinted and published by H. Margary 1968.

2 Boorsin Ed. American Civilisation (1972) Thames and Hudson contains several excellent paintings (and photographs)

3. Sketches and Etchings and Prints

The chief visual newspaper record before the photograph.

4. Cartoons

Usually in newspapers and magazines. Some are almost synonomous with the events themselves. The Punch cartoon "Dropping the Pilot" in 1890 and the Boss Tweed cartoon are well known. Cartoons are particularly important in studying attitudes and may contain considerable distortion and bias. They need to be handled carefully and are best studied by older children.

5. Posters

Many of the comments made about cartoons apply to posters. Nevertheless they provide very useful material for older children. Of especial interest are the propaganda posters of the First and Second World War which were produced by the combatants[1]. They make excellent contrast and, as with the cartoons, illustrate the way in which they were seeking to build up stereotypes of the opposition, as well as appeal to patriotism, unity and individual conscience.

6. Photographs

The Crimean War was the first major war to be photographed and the American Civil War, a decade later, produced an enormous number. Old photographs are a valuable source and will be discussed in detail later. A different category of photographic evidence is the aerial photograph. For example a slide showing a) a section of Watling Street taken from the air illustrates the straightness and line of a Roman Road over flat country much better than a blackboard diagram, and could be related to a modern ordnance survey map.

1 The Imperial War Museum in London has a fine display of posters of the twentieth century. Many of them have been reproduced for sale in poster and postcard form. A study of propaganda/in the First World War could be /and attitudes studied through a combination of literary sources, interviews, newspaper reports, posters and cartoons.

b) an eighteenth century enclosure showing the division of the fields, the cutting of the new enclosure roads and the overlaying of the ridge and furrow of the open fields, adds to map work, and field work which might be undertaken. Note though, that children may not see what we want them to see in photographs, and that aerial photographs can be as difficult for children to understand as maps. In addition, in these two examples we have evidence from the landscape, but the landscape has evolved through time, and the modern aerial photograph represents the present, whilst also exposing earlier layers. For example the hedges planted after enclosure took time to reach maturity, as did the landscaping of the eighteenth century which only now is coming to full maturity. Similar problems are posed by Archaeology. Young children often find gradual decay difficult to comprehend and may assume that it occurred cataclysmically.

7. Postcards

Postcards - containing paintings, photographs, cartoons. As we have seen these can be both a written and visual source.

8. Film

The moving picture did not render the still photograph redundant, but added the dimension of movement. Many aspects of the twentieth century cannot be undertaken adequately without film material and they should not be purely as vidual aids to supplement the teacher, but as source material in themselves.

Two categories can be distinguished:-

i) a) Contemporary documentary film material. Into this category comes all newsreel of particular events of the past, filmed and shown at that time. Film of the Mid-West in the Depression years, of Hitler addressing the Nuremburg rally, of the Munich Olympics of 1972 come to mind, but we always need to bear in mind the selection which has taken place. The Nazi newsreels of the 30's whilst original, were made for a particular purpose; the emphases and omissions are sometimes as important as the content, and we must remain critical.

Example of the Use of Visual Material

A class studying a Fort built in the early nineteenth century in the United States could use the following visual sources (as slides, photographs, 8 mm loops, xerox copies, overhead projector prints).

1) aerial view of the fort illustrating its defensive position
2) large scale modern map of the surrounding area showing the situation of the fort on a bluff at the confluence of two rivers.
3) earlier maps of the area, if available
4) original plans of the fort
5) the above could be related to early prints, and photographs
6) modern slides or photographs taken from the fort illustrating the advantages of the site from various angles
7) as above - but views of the fort from ground level e.g. from across the river
8) slides or photographs of the reconstructed buildings on the site
9) slides or photographs of artefacts and excavated materials from the site which fell into disuse after the Civil War
10) miscellaneous illustrations adding detail to the life of the soldiers in the fort and the life of the settlers and Indians in the area.

These would be supplemented by written sources and if possible visits to the site.

The above examples are drawn from a study which might be undertaken on Fort Snelling established in 1820[1] at Minnesota, by a class of children from the neighbouring area. Alternatively, a class studying a similar theme but were unable to visit the Fort, could have their project enhanced by the source materials described above. In the case of Fort Snelling, the Minnesota Historical Society have several pamphlets suitable for schools.

1 Fort Snelling was in fact established to prevent the British carrying on the fur trade in the United States and was the most northerly fort in the Mississippi Valley. It was also intended to help keep peace between the Sioux and the Chippewas.

V. THE LANDSCAPE

Many may find it strange to see the landscape included as a primary source, and it is unfortunately true that all too often history has been taught only from inside the classroom. When the subject under discussion is local history, this is particularly regrettable. For me the landscape is essential to any local study, although it cannot be used in isolation, but only in relation to our other sources.

Materials such as the census, the map, the photograph and the directory are records of an area at a particular point in the past. In England the Ordnance Survey Map has gone through several editions since its introduction in 1801, and from the mid nineteenth century was produced on a scale as large as 6" and 25" to the mile. They are thus sources which are sufficiently large to provide a wealth of local detail, the 25" showing all man made accretions. Thus the 1862 25" Map of Bromley, Kent shows such features as roads and buildings but also whether the roads were lit, whether there were pavements, where the letter boxes were placed.

The American coverage is not as comprehensive, which is hardly surprising considering the area of the country, but there are several excellent county maps and atlases available. The Minnesota Atlas of 1874[1] contains not only the counties, but also large scale village, town and city plans. In addition there are a large number of etchings of such things as residences in St. Paul, farms, and timber yards. Some of the country views are rather idyllic and would have to be seen as hopes for the future, and perhaps as encouragement to the settler, but are nevertheless a valuable source.

1 A. T. Andreas An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Minnesota (1874) Pub. Lakeside Buildings, Chicago.

A class might well walk the area selected for study, with two maps. One would be the most modern map available, the other an older one, preferably on the same scale[1]. The modern map will no doubt have to be updated - a large house may have been demolished and a number of smaller houses built with an access road or town redevelopment may have taken place. The teacher will need to have decided the boundaries of the area to be studied. A small section can be expanded more easily than posing the class with an overambitious task. Both maps should have been studied in class prior to the walk[2]. Suggestions will have been made as to similarities and differences between maps. A station, town hall, or bypass may all have appeared between the two editions; field boundaries may have become roads, though rights of way across fields may still remain as footpaths. What will emerge will depend upon the area chosen, and the teacher will have selected the older map because of the supportive material available on that particular date or period. Initial work in the classroom will be followed by the field work; observation of the landscape is essential to understanding. Building materials, the age of buildings, additions to buildings, the use of buildings and land, the significance of height, the influence of rivers, even streams, in determining location, will all be seen more clearly through walking the area. From the fieldwork further questions will arise and on return to school, other primary materials will be used. This is not an end to fieldwork, but from now on it may be followed up by small groups, or individuals from the class, with parents perhaps becoming involved.

Supportive Visual Sources

The local record office or local history room of the library or newspaper office often has a good collection of photographs of the local area. Many of

1 A scale of 25" to the mile provides a map on which the children can record their observations.

2 Maps should be affixed to a piece of hardboard by a large clip so that notes can also be attached. If the children take several coloured pencils they can classify as they observe, though decisions as to the key should have been undertaken in the classroom. I have found that a plastic bag is useful to put everything in, but this is probably an Englishman's uncertainty, or concern with the weather!

ones most in demand by schools and by the general public are being reproduced and may be purchased, as photographs, or sometimes as postcards. In addition once the study gets underway such things as newspaper photographs of personal photographs will often be brought by the children. Postcards are a rich source and most areas are well covered over the past 70 years by postcards. The dating of them is often a problem (the photograph on the card, not the card or the date it was posted) but this can present a basic research task. General views of one's town might lead to questions such as, when was the parade of shops opened? When were they replaced by the present supermarket? When was street lighting introduced? Why was the southern side of the High Street developed first? Answers to these and similar questions may come from

1. the landscape itself which will not provide dating, but may suggest reasons for change, and show the successive layers of change.
2. artefacts particularly street furniture, which may no longer serve a function, or have been modernised e.g. water troughs, milestones, gas standards converted to electricity, pillar boxes. Look out for modern street furniture such as parking meters, road signs, traffic restrictions.
3. oral evidence
4. other photographs or postcards which are contemporary, or taken from the same spot at different times. Children may wish to make photographic records and then and now photographs taken from the precise spot as the older photographs make for excellent comparisons.
5. aerial photographs
6. printed materials e.g. directories, newspapers, maps, census.
7. secondary sources - town guides, local histories.
8. evidence from earlier class studies which will be introduced at the teacher's discretion. Sometimes the pace of change is so considerable that work from only 5 years ago will provide contrasts, rather than unnecessary duplication.

VI. NAMES

Strictly speaking these should be included under written sources, but I have placed them here as they are a useful part of a local study and the study of the landscape. We have already looked at field names[1] and may look at three further relevant groups:-

a) Surnames

May be useful in studying migration into one's area in the United States; the large Scandinavian and German migration into certain parts of Minnesota is reflected by a study of surnames from either sampling the directories, telephone books, or more simply the children within the class, or the year group[2].

b) Place names

This can be an extremely complex study, particularly in the European countries which have seen successive waves of settlement over lengthy periods of time. Here guesswork may prove wrong. However, at a simple level and with the use of a place name dictionary, the study can prove helpful and rewarding for children. Saxon and Danish endings can be plotted for one's county in England[3], whilst a study of the county map, or the AAA Handbook in the U.S.A. can provide the basis for a study of not only the European settler

1 See page 36

2 See C. M. Mathews, Surnames of Occupations, History Today, July 1963 in which he describes his research into the 800,000 names listed in the London Telephone Directory (1961-62). In the article he considers the names derived from trades and occupations and considers their comparative numbers. For example he cites the building trade and notes that there were 1450 Wrights, 700 Masons, 280 Carpenters, 230 Tylers, 110 Plummers and Leadbetters and 80 Thatchers. Brickmaking was not reintroduced to England until the early fifteenth century and as surnames were largely established by 1400 there were no Brickmakers nor Bricklayers listed in the directory.

3 See Environmental Studies 5-13 : The Use of Historical Resources, Schools Council Working Paper 48 Evans/Methuen (1973) pp.14-16. This contains an interesting description of work on Viking settlement undertaken by a group of 11 year olds in the Lake District. Through a study of place names they were able to see the Scandinavian influence e.g. fell (fjall), t[3]rn (tjorn) and their village Satterthwaite - Saeter (hill farm) thwaite (clearing in the woodland).

country of origin, or the European country which controlled the area in the past, but also something about the indigenous populations, so not only in Minnesota can we trace the French (Le Sueur), the German migrants (New Ulm), the Indians (Mankato), the English (Mapleton), but also the aspirations of the settlers (Golden City) and the native names (Lake Crystal, Good Thunder).

c) Street Names

Town guides, or estate agents' maps can provide a ready-to-use, indexed source. Street names can often provide an excellent guide to a town's development, not only in providing clues, but posing questions for further research. Street names may refer to previous landholders, national events, local people, or former industries or occupations. Reference to earlier maps and street directories will help, and one can often see the patterns of development emerging through the grouping of street names.

Practical Considerations

In the earlier sections I have suggested that a wide range of primary source material should be used wherever possible. There are several practical reasons for advocating this, ranging from the development of basic historical skills to making the subject more interesting. In addition, history is a challenging subject to teach, if only for the fact that it deals with past experiences and events, and is largely concerned with adults in the past. It is now recognised that historical skills have to be taught, and that a topic can be considered and appreciated at various levels of understanding.

Teachers who are faced with the challenge of a mixed-ability class have found that to spend the majority of the time class-teaching by the lecture/talk type approach is too imprecise and fails to engage actively many in the class. Even worse, single pace teaching, with identical follow-up for all may be too easy for some and beyond others. Consequently, a mixed-economy is more desirable. In this the teacher has a positive part to play, but no

longer is seen as the fountainhead of all knowledge[1]. Now he is the guide, but one whose experience and expertise are respected, and whose skills are followed. He leads over difficult terrain, and does this through teaching skills and providing pointers to appropriate materials and equipment. The teacher has not abrogated responsibility, he still has a role to play in the selection of topics and appropriate problems for study and ensuring that there are adequate materials for their solution. However, if he does no more the children will never see the skilled practitioner at work. The teacher's task is simply more varied than before. He will still continue to teach the class collectively, but not all the time. He may introduce a topic, through a story or a group of slides, he may lead a discussion on problems which the children have been studying, and will seek to bring a particular study to a conclusion by drawing the individual or group work together.

In fact the teacher's role is now far more subtle. At times individuals or groups will be working at their own pace, possible from a graded assignment sheet. The teacher will be ensuring that there is sufficient material for all abilities, posing additional problems, giving explanations or suggesting sources to individuals[2].

Sources have the great advantage of enabling a topic to be approached through a variety of media. Handviewers, cassette and tape recorders, and duplicating equipment allow the teacher to make available to individuals, groups or the class as a whole, a variety of sources.

1 This is not to imply that a teacher need not be as good an historian or history teacher as before. Rather that the children should see him as a skilled practitioner and guide and no longer purely as an encyclopaedia or compendium of historical fact.

2 This implies that the teacher will need a more sophisticated marking system if he is to record individual progress, when children may be working at different levels and speeds.

Teachers with a wide range of ability within their class may be forgiven if they look cynically at some of the documentary packs which are now being produced. They may argue that whilst they offer a challenge to the bright child, there are a substantial group within the class whose fluency and English comprehension is low. They argue that there are difficulties in finding suitable material for use in an English lesson, and question how primary sources in history are to be used. Certainly written materials present problems, especially as they are usually written by, and for adults in the past. This may mean that not only are individual words not understood, but also the sentence construction itself may be in a code so different from their own as to make understanding difficult[1].

Two other problems of words in history are

a) Ambiguities in meaning. Some familiar words, may have had different or specialist meanings in the past. There must be many children studying Medieval history in English schools who have a firm picture of the three field system of the Medieval village based upon the twentieth century field[2].

b) Words at a high level of generalisation pose problems of understanding. Much has been written on concepts in history, but still one finds words at a high level of abstraction being used before children are ready e.g. economic, industrial, government, democracy.

In addition the level of argument used may be at too high a level. Many of the sophisticated arguments and language of Lenin or Jefferson would be too difficult for children. Teachers who react strongly against the thought of using these sources have salvation in their hands, for they have come to a decision that the material would be too difficult for the children

1 In this case a glossary would not solve the basic problem.

2 See how aerial photographs and other sources can help.

they teach. The ability to decide what to select or reject is firmly in their hands, and rightly so.

On the other hand teachers may feel that some material is within the compass of the child, if only his reading ability were up to it. Some teachers are overcoming this problem by taping an extract, so that a child with a cassette recorder can listen to it, and where necessary replaying it to answer any questions which may be posed; (cassettes seem to have been less prone to erasure in 1973 than tapes). The child, with a glossary provided by the teacher is able to answer the questions in his own words, or undertake work through a different medium - a model, or drawing, a piece of dramatic work - to his highest level of achievement. I return again to the importance of variety. Children may not only be interested in and stimulated by different sources, but also be able to understand better through a mixture of approaches.

The last few years has seen a wide selection of documentary and sources material coming on to the market. These are now emanating from not only commercial organisations but:-

1. The B.B.C. and I.T.V. Schools Services
2. The Inner London Education Authority (I.L.E.A.)
3. Teachers' organisations e.g. the National Union of Teachers (N.U.T.)
4. County record offices and large town libraries
5. The Historical Association and its branches
6. Museums
7. University Departments and Institutes
8. Teachers' groups, usually based on Teachers' Centres
9. The Schools' Council and the Nuffield Foundation

Examples of the latter, resulting from research projects are:

a) The Humanities Project Schools' Council/Nuffield. See The Humanities Project : An Introduction pub. by Heinemann (1970)

b) Integrated Studies Schools' Council. See Communicating with Others (Unit 2), Section C : Sense of History pub. by O.U.P. (1972)

c) General Studies Project Schools' Council. See Teaching Notes on Nazi Germany pub. Longmans/Penguin (1972)

In general, the source material produced can be categorised between

a) resource packs which usually contain a selection of written and visual evidence relating to a particular theme or event. Sometimes they contain slides, and tape. Information sheets for the children are sometimes included, but usually there is a teacher's booklet, describing the collection, the sources of the documents, a book list and other useful detail.

These offer flexibility for the teacher who can introduce them as he wishes and set work which he considers relevant to the needs of the class. They usually contain only one copy of each extract[1].

b) resource packs which are designed for use by a whole class

These contain either a number of copies of each extract, or sufficient extracts for each member of the class to choose from. For example a pack might be on the Georgian Age with six sets of material on various topics such as Transport, Towns, or Leisure. Within each group would be a number of cards containing extracts, in the form of documents or illustrations accompanied by suggestions for follow up work. The suggestions may be on a separate card, or on the same one. Teachers should look carefully at not only the material but its compilation and should ask questions such as:-

1. Can the extracts be easily read or only with difficulty? Generally speaking original documents written prior to the eighteenth century will pose many problems for children. Their transcription may be possible and rewarding, though time-consuming. A printed transcript may be necessary and as useful, with a few originals for examples. Consider how you intend to use the material.

1 One notable exception in Great Britain is the Humanities Packs which contain 30 copies of each extract.

2. Are the extracts clearly reproduced and not so reduced in size that they prove difficult to read? Copies are sometimes blurred around the edges and visual material may be indistinct. In some packs topic sets are distinguished by the use of different colours, with unfortunate results, particularly for old photographs.

3. Do the items in the pack cohere together to form a whole? Some packages contain a large number of documents and may superficially appear good value, but on inspection one may find many of them unsuitable either through difficulty or relevance. As in 1, consider how you intend to use them. Are they useful to the direction and emphasis you had in mind for your class?

4. Are the questions and suggested work appropriate? Are the questions well framed? Do they relate directly to the extract? Is there a sufficient range of activities? If the questions are on the same card as the extract, then one loses flexibility if one wishes to reject or alter certain questions. Some groups of questions bear a monotonous pattern, and to some a graded work card may mean nothing more than a question beginning "Draw or make a model of ..." Put yourself in the situation of the child who cannot attempt many of the questions without considerable assistance and is faced with the prospect of pursuing the same activity on each card[1]. It may be more useful if the cards, including the extracts, were graded, rather than merely the questions.

1 Even if the questions are well suited, endless assignment work will become repetitive, especially if similar approaches are being adopted in other areas of the curriculum.

Ensure that the questions can be answered. One recent pack[1] which generally contained some very interesting material had a card showing a street scene in an industrial town about 100 years ago. One of the questions asked was "Assume you are a commissioner reporting on housing and health. Write down ten reasons why you think Parliament should spend more money on reforming public health and housing in the city". However, the photograph which was the evidence, cannot provide the answer which the compiler sought, for the street was paved, had pavements, no rubbish was in sight, none of the glass windows visible were broken, and there was a gas lamp on the street corner. From the evidence one could not list ten reasons, and an official at the time would have considered the external views as reasonable.

5. Does the pack contain material which you could not collect yourself with examples which were more relevant to what you are doing?

Generally speaking a teacher has not the time to compile a range of materials on the many topics that he is required to teach, and thus the archive materials which are being produced are to be welcomed, but as they are going to compete with other purchases, one should view them as critically as any other purchase.

The last few years have seen the development in Britain of resource banks in larger schools and local authorities are making funds available for work to be undertaken by teachers' centres[2] or teachers' groups. In this way a bank of materials can be assembled, which can then be duplicated and supplied to local schools.

1 A Jamieson, The Industrial Revolution, Exploring History series, Macmillan (1971)

2 In March 1974 I am tutoring a course for teachers organised by The London Borough of Bromley on Resources for Local History. The aim is to consider and select materials which can be of use to children and teachers in local schools.

In conclusion, I would emphasise that we have usually been too preoccupied with dispensing fact from secondary sources. An intelligent use of source materials can bring children into a better learning situation. Sources can provide starting points for project work, provide material for the development of the historical imagination. Similarly they can enhance historical understanding and insight at the child's level, and at the same time introduce children to the tools and techniques of the historian. At best sources will enable history to become an active and practical activity and not an arid subject, rejected by many whilst at school, and only taken up later outside the strictures of the classroom. The interest in the past is there, let us use it.

FURTHER READING

Apart from the references in the text, I am reluctant to list examples of existing packs for many which have excellent claims would be excluded in the space allowed. Instead, I would like to list a few recent articles and books not listed in the text.

1. Bibliographies and Surveys of Source Material

Brooks, G. R. : A Select List of Aids for the Teaching of Recent History 1890-1970. H.A., T.H.32 1971

Bryant, M. : Documentary and Study Materials for Teachers and Pupils

Part I T.H. Vol. I, No.3 1970

Part II T.H. Vol. I, No.4 1970

Part III T.H. Vol.II, No.5 1971

Burston, W. H. and Green : Handbook for History Teachers Methuen Revised eg.1972

Fines, J. D. : The Teaching of History in the United Kingdom : A Select Bibliography H.A., No.T.H. 77 1969

This is the most comprehensive and detailed bibliography. It is regularly brought up to date in Teaching History.

Vol. II, No.6, 1971

Vol.III, No.9, 1973

Fines, J. : ed. History Bland Teachers' Handbooks 1969

Williams, G. A. : Guide to Sources of Illustrative Material for Use in the Teaching of History H.A. 1962 Reprinted 1969

Wood, R. G. E. : Archives Unit in the Teaching of History

Part I T.H. Vol.II, No.6, 1971

Part II T.H. Vol.II, No.7, 1972

Part III T.H. Vol.III, No.9, 1973

2. The Use of Source Material

Blyth, J. E. : Archives and Source Material in the Junior School T.H. Vol. I, No.1, 1969

Bolwell, L. and Lines, C. : Resources for Local Studies in Primary and Middle Schools : An Inservice Experiment T.H. Vol. II, No.8, 1972

Boon, G. : Making the Most of the Locality T.H. Vol. II, No.8, 1972

Bryant, M. and Ecclestone, J. : World Outlook 1900-1965, Classwork Book Faber 1968

Charlton, K. : Source Material and the Teaching of History E.R. Vol. IX, No.1, Nov. 1956

Chinnery, G. : Studying Urban History in Schools H.A. T.H. Series No.30

Devitt, M. : Learning with Jackdaws Jonathan Cape 1970

Fines, J. : Archives in Schools History Vol. LIII Oct. 1968

Hall, D. : History via the Eye Witness T.H. Vol. III, No.9, 1973

Steel, D. J. and Taylor, L. : Family History in Schools, Environmental History Ltd., 1973

Turner, D. : Historical Demography in Schools, H.A., T.H. Series No.30, 1971

West, J. : History: Here and Now N.U.T. 1966

West, J. : Archives for Schools N.U.T. 1972

Many of the articles quoted above are to be found in Teaching History published twice a year by The Historical Association, 59a Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11.

N.U.T. : National Union of Teachers
H.A. : Historical Association
T.H. : Teaching History
E.R. : Educational Review, University of Birmingham